1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

of family relations, the sexual relations of the Koryak, compared with those of their neighbors, are remarkably pure for a primitive tribe. This should make the possibility of infection through sexual intercourse rare. It is likely that the contagion spread simply through contact, in consequence of their lack of aversion to things eaten by others and of the excessive filth obtaining among them.

Leprosy, so widely spread among the Yakut, is not found at all among the Koryak. Slunin says that the Kamchadal also are exempt from it.[1] The Yakut, also Russian immigrants, half-blood descendants of Kamchadal and Russians or Yakut, and to some extent the Tungus, are subject to this disease. Personally I did not meet with a single instance of a Tungus affected by leprosy.

From time to time a contagious disease similar to grippe in its prolonged and severe form, accompanied with many complications, spreads among the Koryak, and each time it claims a few score victims. This disease was introduced by the Russians. At the time of my arrival at the Russian town of Gishiginsk (August, 1900), almost its entire Russian population, the cossacks included, were down with the grippe.

The remedies used by the Kamchadal are not used by the Koryak. In case of sickness they have recourse to shamanism, family charms, and incantations. They readily apply for help to a Russian physician or to travellers, whom they regard as shamans, and take their medicine gladly. Wounds heal with remarkable rapidity after they have been dressed, and antiseptics have been applied to them. The Koryak usually leave their wounds open, for they have not the necessary material with which to dress them. Hare's hair is frequently applied by them to a wound; but the hairs stick to it, and dirt accumulates, and it is surprising how the wounds heal at all under such conditions. By applying the proper dressing, we often succeeded in healing in a few days ulcers, cuts, and wounds from which they had been suffering for months.

Mental Traits. — There is quite a disparity of opinion among travellers in reference to the psychological and moral traits of the Koryak.

Krasheninnikoff says, "They are all exceedingly rude, irascible, ill-disposed, spiteful, and unmerciful;"[2] but in another place he says, "The Koryak are truthful, diligent, and endowed with a sense of shame."[3] On the same page he says that the Maritime Koryak are more courageous than their Reindeer brothers.

Dittmar says that the Koryak are "good-natured, honest, strictly truthful, and do not know deceit. But should any one offend their sense of honor, or insult them, their anger is lasting, and they seek to avenge themselves."[4]

[1] Slunin, I, p. 529. [2] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 202. [3] Ibid., II, p. 203.
[4] Dittmar, Die Koriken, pp. 26, 27.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R\14 Koryak R\14

With reference to the Paren and Kamenskoye people, Dittmar says in another place that they are "of a restless, warlike nature, or, rather, they have the nature of robbers, which has made for them a number of enemies,"[1] and that the wandering Koryak visit them only in case of dire necessity. The Reindeer Koryak, on the other hand, are, according to Dittmar,[2] such an honest, straight-forward people, that he expresses a wish that the demoralizing influence of civilization should not touch their pure patriarchal life.

Maydell, on the contrary, considers the Koryak a wily people, who have caused a good deal of harm to the Russians by their pretended submission and treacherous revolts.[3]

Slunin says of the Maritime Koryak, that they are "more advanced, more receptive, have better morals (?), and are more sociable in their manners,"[4] than the Reindeer Koryak, but are not very hospitable; while hospitality, and readiness to come to the assistance of the needy, constitute, on the contrary, a distinctive trait of the nomadic Koryak.

Kennan[5] also praises the Reindeer Koryak for their honesty and hospitality, while the picture he draws of the Maritime Koryak is anything but attractive. "They are," says Kennan, "cruel and brutal in disposition, insolent to everybody, revengeful, dishonest, and untruthful. The settled Koraks of Penzhinsk Gulf are unquestionably the worst, ugliest, most brutal and degraded natives in all northeastern Siberia; more trouble than all the other inhabitants of Siberia and Kamchatka together."

Personally I believe that the principal traits of character of the Maritime and Reindeer Koryak are much alike. They are proud, independent, inclined to brag; their passions are easily aroused; they take offence readily, and try to avenge themselves by any possible means. They are hospitable and sociable with people in whom they have confidence, but do not conceal their dislike for those who are unfriendly to them, or who, for some reason or another, did not gain their favor. They do not fear death, and they cannot be frightened by anything. For reasons such as the death of a relative, quarrels, or wrath, suicide has frequently been committed among them, as well as among the Chukchee, even recently.

In former times, owing to these traits of character, feuds, or misunderstandings among the Koryak, or between them and other tribes, ended in mutual slaughter. At present, their manners are somewhat gentler, but in dealing with them one must always take into consideration their obstinacy, austerity, and dauntlessness.

Together with the Chukchee, the Koryak are the only Siberian tribe whose attitude toward the Russian authorities is that of almost perfect independence. However, the Russianized Koryak of the Okhotsk district, and

[1] Dittmar, Die Korjäken, p. 82.
[2] Ibid., p. 34.
[3] Maydell, I, pp. 367–373.
[4] Slunin, I, p. 392.
[5] Kennan, pp. 197, 203, 209.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY

177 particularly the Maritime Koryak of northern Kamchatka who have embraced Christianity, are exceptions to this rule. They have the same pitiful and humble appearance as the Kamchadal, Yukaghir, and Tungus, and carry out submissively each and every order of the cossacks and the Russians in general. Evidently the process of Russianization, combined with two centuries of oppression by the Russian authorities, has brought about this change in the primitive character of this branch of the Koryak.

727 During the time of the subjection of the Koryak, full-grown men in the villages or camps, unable to withstand longer the besieging Russians, often killed their dogs or reindeer, their women and children, and finally themselves, if they could not escape by flight. Such a state of things discouraged even the conquerors. Similar instances of wild self-destruction while battling for their freedom occurred later on as well, when the Russians were suppressing 669 the Koryak rebellions. These rebellions were caused by the levying of the fur-tribute (yassák), or by the demand of the Russians for hostages. These demands the Koryak refused to grant, though other Siberian tribes, with the exception of the Chukchee, complied with them.

● [181] Strictly speaking, the Koryak were not on the whole opposed to the fur-tribute, which they considered an offering to the Czar; but the extortionate demands made by the cossacks and officials for furs and services for themselves were contrary to the Koryak sense of justice and his love of freedom. The rebellious spirit of the Koryak was not crushed with the suppression of the revolts.[1]

609 An old man from the Kamenskoye village told me that he could remember seeing, when he was a child, Russian merchants accompanied by cossacks come to trade, and that, fearing an attack, they stopped outside the village. It was only when the Koryak came out to them unarmed that trade began. Even very recently the chief of the Gishiga district travelled through the Koryak villages and camps under the protection of an armed body-guard.

651 In the sixties of the last century the chief of the Gishiga district, Volkov, ordered a drunken Koryak from the village of Kamenskoye to be beaten with rods when he came to Gishiginsk. The relatives of the man determined to flog the Russian chief in Kamenskoye, where he was expected to arrive as usual for collecting tribute of furs. When Volkov heard of this, he sent two cossacks for the tribute, instead of going himself. As soon as they arrived in the settlement, they were stretched out and flogged, and then sent back to Volkov to tell him that now he might come, since the indignity to their relative was avenged.[2]

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[1] For a more detailed account of the relations between the Russians and the Koryak, see the historical sketch in Chapter XIV.

[2] From the Report of Ratkevich, the successor of Volkov, chief of the Gishiga district, to the Governor of the Maritime Province, Dec. 31, 1886, No. 404 (Government Archives of Gishiga).

Jochelson E-5 (1900-02) 1902 R94 Koryak R94

relations would have undergone a complete change. Unfortunately the fair lasted but a few days, and my plans were such that after the fair I had to go to the Taigonos Peninsula.

The discrepancy in the accounts given by various travellers of the characteristics of the Reindeer and Maritime Koryak can, it seems to me, be explained by the fact that the Reindeer people, being nomadic, could always get away from unwelcome visitors, and the Russians did not know where to find the camps which they desired to visit; while the Maritime Koryak, being established in certain places, could not escape undesirable visits, and were compelled to offer resistance when they did not wish to yield to the demands of the Russians.

One demand of the cossacks always irritates the Koryak, and that is the exaction of conveyance without charge. The Koryak, as a rule, have few driving-dogs, and, moreover, food must be taken along for the dogs, even if there is not enough left for the people. In this respect the Reindeer Koryak are more favorably situated. It is a trifle for a wealthy reindeer-owner to give a few reindeer for driving. He does not suffer any privation by rendering such service, and therefore is not irritated by demands of this sort.

The same is true regarding their hospitality. The Maritime Koryak are as hospitable as those of the Reindeer branch, but they have nothing acceptable to offer to a white person. He will not eat seal-meat with blubber. Not even all cossacks can eat the food of the Koryak, who feel insulted if any one shows aversion to it. Besides, the Maritime Koryak themselves often suffer from a scarcity of food. The Reindeer Koryak, on the other hand, are in a position to offer reindeer-meat to the white man.

The Maritime Koryak, for instance, never offered me food, unless I myself asked them for dried fish, while they always [illegible] my people with food. The Reindeer Koryak, on the contrary, always treated us to boiled reindeer-tongues, a delicacy kept for guests of honor.

On the whole, I retain a good impression of the Koryak. They are hard to get along with if one does not know their ways. They are churlish, rude, and quarrelsome, if displeased; but they do not flatter, are truthful, straightforward, and, when in good-humor, good-natured and jocose.

Mr. Kennan's remarks about the Kamentsi may be explained by the fact that the agents of the Russian-American Company, in whose employ he was, either paid the Koryak, under the patronage of the Russian authorities, very poorly or not at all for their services, or treated them arrogantly, as they did the meek and humble Kamchadal. This is the only way in which I can reconcile the relations between the Maritime Koryak and the employees of the Telegraph Company as described by Mr. Kennan. Some old Russians in Ginhiginsk told me that the agents of the company paid by slips or receipts, the money for which has not yet been collected.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

174 233 draught-animal than the dog. The reindeer found its own food, while the dog required supplies of fish, which could not be had in the interior of the country, especially in the mountains. On the other hand, the reindeer compelled its tamers to begin a nomadic life in search of pastures; and in this manner the more or less settled inhabitants of the maritime and river regions became nomads. This process controverts somewhat the accepted scheme of the development of civilization, in which a settled state is usually considered to denote a higher stage of culture than a nomadic state; while here the nomadic state appears as a later step in the development of Koryak culture.

● 181 The taming of the reindeer is undoubtedly a civilizing factor of high order. Still, under given conditions of Koryak life, reindeer-breeding represents primarily *material* progress. The reindeer-breeder is more secure and wealthier than the maritime inhabitant, but, on the other hand, he is coarser. Constant worry connected with the care of his herd, the struggle with nature, and the moving from place to place, claim all the time of the reindeer-breeder, and stunt his mental development. On the contrary, the comparatively warm home of the settled Koryak, and his leisure in winter, stimulate habits of reflection, and develop his mind and his powers of observation. The different forms of primitive art, as we shall see later, are found developed principally among the sedentary Koryak.

233 114 174 It is strange that some travellers have thought that the sedentary Chukchee and Koryak were the descendants of Reindeer nomads who had lost their herds through epidemics or wars. Thus, Krasheninnikoff, Ermann, Dittmar, Kennan, and Slunin say of the sedentary Koryak, that they were formerly reindeer-breeders, but that in the wars with the Chukchee — or through epidemics, as Slunin says — they lost their reindeer;[1] while Sarytcheff, Wrangell, and Schrenck say of the Maritime Chukchee, that they were formerly reindeer-breeders, but, having lost their reindeer through epidemics, left the interior of the country for the coast to engage in hunting sea-animals.[2]

174 233 As a matter of fact, several groups of sedentary Koryak, such as the Opuka Koryak, are claimed to have been reindeer-breeders; but, as a rule, reindeer-breeding appears as a higher economic type in the development of material culture than do fishing and hunting. There is no doubt that the remote ancestors of the Reindeer Koryak of to-day were a maritime people, and began to leave the shores for the interior of the country, only after the development of reindeer-breeding. The custom of carrying burdens and children on their backs by means of head-bands, which is still prevalent among the women (see Plate XXXV, Fig. 2, and Plate XXXVI) is a survival of the

[1] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 204; Ermann, Reise um die Erde (Berlin, 1838), p. 423; Dittmar, Die Korjaken, pp. 7, 36; Kennan, p. 159; Slunin, I, p. 354. The same is maintained by Professor D. Anuchin (Russian Encyclopaedia of Brockhaus and Efron, Vol. XXVII, p. 151).

[2] See Sarytcheff, Voyage, II, p. 105; Wrangell, II, p. 222; Schrenck, II, p. 25, Note 4.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Koryak

In another myth[1] Big-Raven's elder son, Eme'mqut, bids his younger brother Big-Light to bring back to life a girl of the kamak whom he had killed, that they might live in peace with their neighbors.

A terrible case of blood-revenge is narrated in the district chief's report to the Governor, of Dec. 31, 1882.[2] An Alutor had killed another while sharing the catch of a seal-hunt. With the help of relatives and friends, the culprit succeeded in taking such elaborate precautions for his personal safety, that the attempts of the hostile group to avenge themselves repeatedly failed. At last the relatives of the victim succeeded, under cover of darkness, in creeping up to the house of the murderer. They barricaded the entrance and set fire to the house. The entire family of the culprit and one strange woman perished in the flames. This cruel procedure was not considered excessive by the Koryak. Only the relatives of the strange woman considered vengeance justifiable, and demanded a ransom.

During wars, the victors would put the children of the vanquished to death to prevent vengeance. In one of the myths cited above, Eme'mqut, having annihilated the warriors of the Chukchee, says to his people, "Let us go to their camp and kill their women and children. If we leave them alive, the sons of the killed men will make war upon us when they grow up."[3]

The Koryak are very rancorous, and try to avenge every insult. At the Koryak fair on the Palpal I witnessed a fight which I consider characteristic. On the third day of the fair, reindeer-races and other contests took place. Among the combatants were two young Koryak from the Opuka River, A'inqo and Xata'učăin. The former was the older and weaker, but succeeded by a clever twist in throwing his adversary. Xata'učăin soon found himself on top of A'inqo, but the combat was pronounced undecided. In the evening of the same day, Xata'učăin quietly approached A'inqo and struck him. A fight ensued, in which Xata'učăin soon gained the upper hand. Nobody interfered. Suddenly A'inqo, whose face was all battered, ceased to defend himself, and squatted down on his heels. Xata'učăin kept on striking him on the head, while A'inqo sat helplessly, his head drooping, his face covered with blood. Thus the beaten Koryak expresses his submission and pleads for his life. Xata'učăin raged like a wild beast, and would probably have killed A'inqo but for the interference of the old men. As A'inqo's relatives were expected to arrive at the fair the next day, the old men forced Xata'učăin to leave the same night in order that further fighting might be avoided. Before Xata'učăin's departure I invited him to my tent for a glass of tea, and asked him to explain to me the cause of the fight. It appeared that his enmity toward A'inqo was of old standing. When he (Xata'učăin) was a boy, the elder A'inqo used to beat him. Their fathers, too, had had

[1] See Part I, p. 239.
[2] See Case of the Archives of the Gizhiga District, 1882, No. 404.
[3] See Part I, p. 138.

11: Kennan--182 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak
116, 181, 621 Reindeer

"This wandering, isolated, independent existence has given to the Koraks all those characteristic traits of boldness, impatience of restraint, and perfect self-reliance, which distinguish them from the Kamtchadals and the other settled inhabitants of Siberia. Give them a small herd of reindeer, and a moss steppe to wander over, and they ask nothing more from all the world. They are wholly independent of civilization and government, and will neither submit to their laws nor recognize their distinctions. Every man is a law unto himself as long as he owns a dozen reindeer; and he can isolate himself, if he so chooses, from all human kind, and ignore all other interests but his own and his reindeer's. For the sake of convenience and society they associate themselves in bands of six or eight families each; but these bands are held together only by mutual consent, and recognize no governing head."

11: Kennan--232-233 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak
116, 181, 157, 178, 621 Maritime

"The settled Koraks of Penzhinsk Gulf are unquestionably the worst, ugliest, most brutal and degraded natives in all Northeastern Siberia. They do not number more than three or four hundred, and live in five different settlements along the sea-coast; but they made us more trouble than all the other inhabitants of Siberia and Kamtchatka together. They led, originally, a wandering life like the other Koraks; but, losing their deer by some misfortune or disease, they built them-[233]selves houses of drift-wood on the sea-coast, settled down, and now gain a scanty subsistence by fishing, catching seals, and hunting for carcasses of whales which have been killed by American whaling vessels, stripped of blubber, and then cast ashore by the sea. They are cruel and brutal in disposition, insolent to everybody, revengeful, dishonest, and untruthful. Everything which the Wandering Koraks are, they are not."

11: Kennan--233-234 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak
116, 157, 181 Reindeer

"From nearly all these demoralizing influences [RCH: to which the Maritime Koryaks are subject; see category 116, pp. 232-3] the Wandering Koraks are removed by the very nature of their life. They spend more of their time in the open air, they have healthier and better-balanced physical constitutions, they rarely see Russian traders or drink Russian vodka, and they are generally temperate, chaste, and manly in all their habits. As a natural consequence they are better men, morally, physically, and intel-[234] lectually, than the settled natives ever will or can be. I have very sincere and hearty admiration for many Wandering Koraks whom I met occasionally on the great Siberian 'toondras,' but their settled relatives are the worst specimens of men that I ever saw in all Northern Asia, from Behring's Straits to the Ural Mountains."